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Marxism Must Command Natural Science

- Studying "On the Significance of Militant Materialism"

by

Li K'o (黎可)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 2, February 14, 1976)

In the brilliant work "On the Significance of Militant Materialism," Lenin, the great teacher of revolution, incisively expounded the relationship between Marxist philosophy and natural science, and called on natural scientists "to become a dialectical materialist." Today, it is of extremely vital immediate significance for us to re-study Lenin's teachings if we are to hit back at the Right-deviating wind to reverse verdicts in the scientific and technological circles.

Is it necessary to use Marxist philosophy to command natural science? This is a major issue of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines on the scientific and technological front. Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, due to sabotage by Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang, a cliche -- "Marx cannot guide X" -- persisted in the scientific and technological circles; opposition was raised against scientists and engineers studying Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's writings. Since the great cultural revolution the vast numbers of scientists and engineers, having heightened their consciousness of studying Marxism and taking Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought as the weapon, have launched revolutionary mass criticism against idealist and metaphysical viewpoints in the field of natural science. But this has been rudely denounced by bourgeois representatives stirring up the Right-deviating wind to reverse verdicts. They say this is to "substitute philosophy for natural science." This is purely a slander with an ulterior motive.

Despite the fact that research subjects of various branches of natural science are separately governed by their own particular laws, the universal law of materialist dialectics as revealed by Marxism plays the dominating role in all branches of natural science. In the course of founding and developing Marxism, our teachers of revolution not only summed up the experience of class struggle but also generalized the rich fruits of natural science. When those who work in the field of natural science study Marxist philosophy, it means that they must consciously apply the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method in carrying out concrete, dialectical analysis and study of problems of natural science. This is definitely not meant to "abolish" or "replace" natural science; it is meant to provide the sharpest weapon for natural scientists to know and change the world. The strange talk in the field of natural science which slanders revolutionary mass criticism as "substituting philosophy for natural science" is intended, and intended only, to oppose the use of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought to take over the position of science and technology.

Such strange talk in scientific and technological circles completely distorts Marxism. Chairman Mao once pointed out explicitly: "Marxism contains

natural science," "it can only include and cannot replace the atomic and electronic theories in physics." These instructions of Chairman Mao's profoundly elucidate the relationship of the commander and the commanded between Marxism and the various specific branches of science. Here, we first talk about "contain" and "include" and then "cannot replace." But the agitators of the strange talk, resorting to the tactic of cutting off the head and retaining the tail, remove "contain" and "include" and keep only "cannot replace." Isn't this intended to deny the role of Marxism in commanding everything? Isn't it intended to reject the general truth that Marxism is applicable everywhere? Emasculating the revolutionary soul of Marxism and twisting it into something acceptable to the bourgeoisie -- this precisely is a tactic habitually used by revisionists.

The creators of the strange talk in scientific and technological circles get onto the stage and perform by flaunting their keen interest in the development of science and technology. However, while doing so, they also want to reject the role of Marxist philosophy in guiding science and technology. This exposes their cloven hoof. Facts about the development of modern natural science tell us again and again that idealist and metaphysical world outlooks block the road for people to know truth, and that only the materialist-dialectical world outlook can open up infinitely broad prospects for people to know nature correctly and to change it dynamically. Proceeding from the plane of the struggle between two world outlooks, Lenin summed up the law governing the development of natural science and most profoundly elaborated on the relationship between philosophy and natural science. He said: "Natural science advances at such a fast rate precisely because it is in a period where profound revolutionary changes are occurring in all spheres, and so natural science can in no way depart from philosophical conclusions." Imperialist and bourgeois "experts" and "scholars" once asserted that "China is poor in oil." The principal "theoretical" basis they put forward for this theory was that most of the existing oilfields were found in sea-facies sedimentary rocks but China was made up mostly of land-facies sediments, and that, therefore, there was no possibility of oil reserves in that country. However, the vast numbers of Chinese oil workers and scientific and technological personnel, under the guidance of materialist dialectics, smashed such idealist and metaphysical tunes and found out the law of land-facies oil bearing on the basis of massive practice. The exploitation of the Tach'ing Oilfield put an end to the era when China used "foreign oil" and pronounced the total bankruptcy of the "theory that China is poor in oil." Facts such as these are too numerous to cite. It is already very clear whether using Marxism to command natural science will promote scientific research or "replace" and "abolish" scientific research. However, those who fan the Right-deviating wind to reverse verdicts in scientific and technological circles deliberately ignore the facts and create confusion. This can only expose their reactionary stand of hostility toward Marxism. Those who "obstruct" the development of science and technology are none other than people stirring up the Right-deviating wind to reverse verdicts and clinging to idealism and metaphysics in the sphere of natural science.

These people regard idealist and metaphysical viewpoints which are rife in scientific and technological circles as treasure and protect them by all means. They only allow the bourgeoisie to spread poison but do not allow

the proletariat to carry out disinfection. Whoever criticizes them would be accused of "substituting philosophy for natural science." However, Lenin was completely correct when he said: "Because modern natural science is experiencing drastic changes, there often appear some large and small reactionary philosophical schools and factions." In the West, don't those natural-scientific "theories" of various descriptions in the vogue use the most decadent philosophy to serve reactionary politics? In imperialist and social-imperialist countries, they "prove" the finity of the universe with the "theory of big explosion of the universe," and "prove" the end of the world with the "theory of dead heat." Under the signboard of genetics, they spread the reactionary eugenics and theory of genius. They use scientific terms in biology and electricity to adorn telepathy of "interaction of the minds." These facts deeply indicate that "modern pseudoscience is actually the disseminator of the rudest and meanest reactionary viewpoints." Basically speaking, the influence of these reactionary viewpoints in the sphere of natural science is not a bit less than that of reactionary novels and dramas of the bourgeoisie. Moreover, because they appear in the cloak of natural science, they are also far more deceptive. To clean up and analyze the history, present conditions, theories, trends of thought and factions of the various branches of natural science so as to wipe out the influence of bourgeois ideology -- this is an important task for the proletariat in exercising overall dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure. Today the battle has just started, and because some departments still have not been basically touched, the agitators of the Right-deviating wind to reverse verdicts in scientific and technological circles manufacture the rumor that "philosophy replaces natural science." This precisely exposes their ugly features in protecting bourgeois dictatorship in the domain of science and technology.

Historical experience merits attention. The struggle in the sphere of research in natural science has never been isolated but has always been closely connected with political struggles. In class society, people's conception of nature often sensitively reflects the characteristics and trends of class struggle in their time. And at a critical turning point in history, the struggle between two world outlooks in the sphere of natural science is even more fierce. Ever since the birth of Marxism, revisionists have often launched their offensives from the position of natural science. The struggle waged by Marx and Engels against Dühring in the late 19th century and the struggle waged by Lenin against Machism in the early 20th century both took natural science as an important front. That is why Lenin attached immense importance to the realization of the task of having the proletariat take over the position of natural science. Lenin also pointed out: "Without a fully reliable philosophical basis, there is no natural science and no materialism which can persist in the fight against invasion of bourgeois ideology and the restoration of the bourgeois world outlook." The restoration of modern revisionism in the Soviet Union precisely took restoration of idealism and metaphysics in the sphere of natural science as an important breach point, and full-scale activities were launched to reverse the verdicts passed on the old systems of natural science that had been discredited by the proletariat so as to "restore the fame" of these once criticized old theories and systems. Many of the leaders of the Soviet revisionist Khrushchev-Brezhnev renegade clique came from the field of natural science. Both externally and internally,

new and old bourgeois elements, when carrying out activities to restore capitalism, invariably make use of natural science and technology. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique once used "covering up politics with technology" as its counter-revolutionary strategy. Lin Li-kuo's "small fleet" made a special probe into how new technology could be used to serve its counter-revolutionary plots, with some of its members directly mastering certain skills. Today, capitalist-roaders again flaunt their interest in natural science and pour cold water on the revolutionary people engaged in the mass movement of studying Marxism and criticizing bourgeois ideology. Their basic aim is to change the Party's basic line and to reverse the Marxist-Leninist and socialist orientations of our entire country.

The current mass debate on the scientific and technological front tells us once again that the sphere of natural science is not a piece of above-class "clean soil," and that a struggle between two antagonistic lines goes on there. To use Marxism to dominate the position of science and technology and guide scientific research, and to continue to wipe out idealism, metaphysics and various bourgeois ideas -- this is an important aspect of exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat on the scientific and technological front. We must uphold the Marxist-Leninist line, persist in applying Marxism to the criticism of bourgeois systems in natural science, and, on the basis of summing up the practice of the three major revolutionary movements, create and develop the proletariat's own theories of natural science. This is the only correct road. "Travelling on the road of Marxist theory, we will get nearer and nearer to the objective truth (but will by no means exhaust it); travelling on any other road, we will achieve nothing, except confusion and error."

* * *

The Fruit of Open-Door Education Mustn't Be Negated

by

Students Union, Department of Mathematics,
Futan University

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 2, February 14, 1976)

In July, August and September last year, a Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts struck the educational circles. This is a striking reflection of the current struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. They attack open-door education for "ignoring culture," "grazing sheep" and having teachers and students "used as labor power" in an attempt to "reverse" the orientation of the educational revolution and practice "closed-door education." This totally exposes their sinister intention to reverse the verdict passed on the revisionist line in education.

During the 17 years before the great cultural revolution, due to the dominance of the revisionist educational line, our Mathematics Department under the control of bourgeois intellectuals was looked upon as "the pearl on the palm." They advanced the slogan of matching the Moscow University of the Soviet Union, opposed teachers and students taking the road of integrating with workers and peasants, and opposed mathematics serving the three great revolutionary movements. They openly advocated "a piece of paper, a pen," practiced "computational mathematics without computers" behind closed doors, and confined teachers and students to a room writing their theses. As a result, "several hundred papers are produced, but none has any link with practice." Poisoned by the idea of individual pursuit to become a famous specialist, some ended up victims of psychoneurosis while others degenerated into Rightists. The former Mathematics Department became the breeding ground of revisionist seedlings.

Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, under the leadership of the Party organization, the teachers and students of our department have criticized the revisionist educational line and carried out the educational revolution. We have persisted in putting proletarian politics in command, linking theory with practice and making teaching and scientific research serve the three great revolutionary movements. We have conducted open-door teaching in a variety of ways, and initially built a new system of three-in-one combination of teaching, production and scientific research. This has brought about basic changes in the outlook of the Department of Mathematics.

Persisting in establishing links between the school and factories and communes and making teachers and students go out of the school and to factories and villages have initially changed the former "three divorces" situation in which the Mathematics Department isolated itself from the rest of the world and closed its eyes and ears. Establishing contact between the school and society enables teachers and students to get in touch extensively with workers and peasants in labor and battle, enhancing the revolutionization of their thought. Worker-peasant-soldier students, coming as they do from

among workers and peasants, do not forget workers and peasants but devote their knowledge to serving them and the three great revolutionary movements. They have played the role as a new force in open-door education. Take, for example, the 3rd-year students of the Mechanics Specialty. During last year's summer vacation they went to Ch'ungming to conduct open-door education. There they set up a short-term training class on "material mechanics" for two agricultural farms and, in connection with their teaching, carried out testing of the combine harvesters produced by the Hsiangming Farm Tools Plant. During the testing, they overcame with tenacity all sorts of difficulties in field work. Braving heavy rains, they harvested and tested the machines at the same time, often working until midnight. After testing was completed, they immediately threw themselves again into the heated battle of "autumn harvsting, sowing and plowing."

In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching -- "practice, knowledge, again practice, and again knowledge," the Mechanics Specialty studied "the finite element method" in connection with the intensity calculation of blade roots in engines, and the Mathematics Specialty studied "mathematical methods in industrial automation" in connection with the annealing technology of the silicon steel alloys plant. The students studied flexibly, remembered what they learned, and put it to use. This not only cultivated their ability to analyze and solve practical problems, but also solved many key problems in actual production. It won favorable comment from the worker and peasant masses. Two classes of worker-peasant-soldier students that graduated from our department solved 21 practical tasks of considerable scale in their graduation practice, some of which were significant items in national defense and the national economy. Even students of lower grades solved many practical problems in the course of open-door education. Prior to the great cultural revolution, students of the Computational Mathematics Specialty generally had to reach their fourth year before they had the chance to use electronic calculators, but with limited time and on very minor problems. As to students of other specialties, they just did not know how to use electronic calculators. Now, all specialties in our department start learning to solve practical problems with electronic calculators in their first year. All this could never be done by students before the great cultural revolution. The superiority of open-door education cannot be obliterated by anyone.

As a corollary of open-door education, teachers, re-educated by the workers, peasants and soldiers, have experienced profound changes in their thinking and raised their vocational capabilities considerably in practice. Apart from teaching and compiling and writing teaching material, they also undertook many scientific research projects, making positive contributions to the three great revolutionary movements. At present, teachers in our department are undertaking 54 scientific research projects in 25 units including the Hutung Shipyard, the Shanghai Oil Refinery Plant, the Chinshan Petrochemical Plant, the Ocean Geological Surveying Bureau, and the Hsinchiang Machinery Plant. Of these, 29 have been completed or basically completed. Besides, there are four research projects on fundamental theory. The former Cybernetics Specialty (now affiliated to the Computer Sciences Department) of our department, in collaboration with such units as the Kiangsu 4th and 6th Petroleum Geophysical Prospecting Teams and the 1st Ocean Geophysical Prospecting Team, attained remarkable achievements in research work on the

mathematical processing of seismic prospecting, and reached an advanced level in both processing methods and procedures, thereby filling a blank in the petroleum prospecting technology of our country. In contrast, before the great cultural revolution, when some units knocked on our door to seek cooperation with our department to build a water-tunnel laboratory, they were flatly rejected. This fully indicates that two different lines brought about two fundamentally different results.

In the course of open-door education, we have persisted in a variety of forms of teaching to render direct service to the development of industrial and agricultural production. Since 1974, our department has sponsored a total of 35 short-term training classes on "finite element method," "computational linguistics," "automatic control," "mathematical processing of seismic prospecting," "hull construction layout," "intensity calculations of jet engines" and so forth for factories affiliated to the 1st Ministry of Machine Building, the Shanghai 1st Electromechanical Bureau, the Chemical Industry Bureau and the Textile Bureau, two agricultural farms and a number of factories of other regions, totalling 79 units in all. Formal students attending these classes numbered over 1,200, with 800 auditors. In addition, it helped three factories set up their "July 21" universities. After attending these short-term training classes, the masses of workers and technicians were able to use the knowledge learned to solve important matters in actual production and so directly push the development of industrial and agricultural production. Moreover, we also set up a correspondence course in Hsishuangbanna in Yunnan for educated youths, with a membership of 600. Through running various kinds of short-term training classes, we have not only trained useful people for society, but also further cemented the ties between the school and society, pushing the educational revolution to develop in greater depth.

In the course of open-door education, teachers and students, working hand in glove with worker masters and on the basis of jointly studying Marx's Manuscripts on Mathematics, take dialectical materialism as the guide to criticize the idealist and metaphysical viewpoints in the old teaching materials. Making every effort to absorb problems in actual production and new achievements attained into teaching materials, they have successively compiled more than 20 kinds of new teaching materials. Since 1973, our department has also held 16 "report meetings on mathematical problems in actual production" and compiled two volumes of Compilations of Practical Mathematical Problems.

The enormous amount of facts revealed during the mass debate in educational circles show that the capitalist-roaders are still around and that the bourgeois representatives fanning the Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts are those in power within the Party taking the capitalist road and who refuse to repent. By smearing our open-door education, they actually stage a counter-attack against the great cultural revolution to reverse verdicts and bring about a restoration of the old order. This is absolutely impermissible. We must deal a head on blow to the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts in educational and scientific and technological circles, persevere in the correct orientation of open-door education, and carry the proletarian educational revolution through to the end!

* * *

What Is the Motive in Praising the White and Expert Road?

by

Educational Revolutionary Group of Department of Mechanical Engineering, the Shanghai Textile Industrial College

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 2, February 14, 1976)

In educational and scientific and technological circles where a Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts is blowing, we hear a very familiar voice: some are singing songs of praise for the white and expert road that had long been criticized until it stunk. This is a flagrant attempt to pave the way for capitalist restoration.

Liu Shao-ch'i once said before the great cultural revolution: "If you master one skill, you will become a famous expert and will have everything." He openly opposed Chairman Mao's instructions on becoming "both red and expert," and did his utmost to push the counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Under the domination of the revisionist educational line, the white and expert road was energetically advocated and praised by the capitalist-roaders in the former East China Textile Industrial College /later renamed the Shanghai Textile Industrial College -- Translator./ They used the poisoned bourgeois baits such as "fame and profit" and "position" to lure young people into taking this road. At that time, some young teachers and students were indeed quite eager to follow in the footsteps of bourgeois intellectuals. They struggled to read several "famous works," master several foreign languages, carry out a "sophisticated" scientific research subject, and write a scientific research thesis that would make them famous overnight. Some eventually slid down the road of "becoming a noted specialist" or even degenerated into bourgeois Rightists. These tragic lessons of history are still fresh in our memory even to this day. Now that such tunes advocated by the revisionist line in the 17 years before the great cultural revolution and criticized during this revolution have again been dished up without trimmings, it is all too clear how rampant they have become in launching a counter-attack in revenge on the great cultural revolution!

In class society, all science and technology serve a definite class. Those in educational, scientific and technological circles who are fanning a Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts have come up with a "grasping scientific research" here and a "doing theoretical work" there, as if they alone were most concerned about the development of science and technology. But wait. By singing the praises of the white and expert road in this way, they have exposed what they are. The truth is that both their scientific research and theories all are intended to serve bourgeois politics. Exploiting the urgent desire of the Chinese people to push science and technology forward, they draw science and technology onto the revisionist orbit to become an instrument for restoring

capitalism. Aren't some people within the Soviet revisionist renegade clique today a bunch of "white and expert" standard-bearers? It is this bunch of men who fill the leadership of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and who have turned a Bolshevik party created by Lenin into a fascist party and the world's first socialist state into a social-imperialist country! Those who fan the Right-deviating wind and who attempt to repeat in China the tragedy of the Soviet Union where "the satellite goes up, the red flag plummets" will certainly be powerfully rebuffed by the revolutionary people.

In praising the white and expert road, the agitators of the Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts want to lure all intellectuals into taking the evil road of capitalism to serve capitalist restoration. Our vast numbers of revolutionary teachers and worker-peasant-soldier students must see through the conspiracy behind the weird theories they peddle, and, going the other way, resolutely take the road of integrating themselves with the workers and peasants, the road to becoming both red and expert, and unswervingly advance in the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line!

* * *

Discern the "Tide"

by

Cheng Chi-hsiung (郑际雄)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 2, February 14, 1976)

In the film "Breaking With Old Ideas," Deputy Commissioner Chao says this when he denounces Lung Kuo-cheng: "There are quite a few comrades within our Party whose brains are still stuck in the wartime years and who cannot catch up with the tide of the time. We must struggle against them." It is indeed intriguing that one who stubbornly opposes new socialist things should style himself as the representative of the "tide of the time."

Lung Kuo-cheng, a cowherd-turned university president, regards running a communist labor university as waging war against the bourgeoisie. In him shines the all-conquering revolutionary spirit of ever marching forward boldly displayed in the war years. But, in the eyes of Deputy Commissioner Chao, all this is "not catching up with the tide of the time" and out-dated. Such a tune is not strange to us. Didn't Bernstein, Kautsky and Khrushchev all declare, under the pretext that times had changed, that the doctrine of class struggle was out of date? As Lenin said aptly: Revisionists always "declare that the doctrine of class struggle is 'out of date,' or begin to implement policies which in fact abandon class struggle." "The tide of the time" advertised by Deputy Commissioner Chao is but a sort of revisionist tide.

Although revisionists either reject or revise the doctrine of class struggle, they definitely do not mean to place themselves outside class struggle. Doesn't Deputy Commissioner Chao quite frankly declare that he will "wage struggle" against those comrades adhering to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line? And the fact is exactly so. In the educational realm, the bourgeoisie is conducting a struggle against the proletariat every hour and every minute. Those absurdities of theirs that seem to stand above classes are in themselves a means of attacking the proletariat. With the development of the struggle situation, their features and tunes may change somewhat, but their goal is always the same: to exercise bourgeois dictatorship over the proletariat in the realm of education. This revisionist tide is a reaction against the tide of the time, an adverse current in the long flow of history.

History always advances by twists and turns amidst the contradiction and struggle between two kinds of tides. The emergence of a revisionist tide is nothing surprising; it is a reflection of class struggle. People like Deputy Commissioner Chao may hang up the communist signboard, but they are in fact agents of the bourgeoisie. They have never been Marxists; their world outlook is a bourgeois kingdom. Under the situation where the socialist revolution is deepening, they invariably want to turn back the wheel of history. As Engels said rightly: "The proletarian movement is bound to go through various stages of development; and at every stage, there will always be a number of people who stay behind and do not advance any more." As long

as classes and class struggle exist, capitalist roaders representing the revisionist tide are sure to appear again.

In the three months of July, August and September last year, a Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts arose in educational circles to negate the educational revolution, a reflection of the struggle between the two classes and two roads in society and the struggle between the two lines in the Party. This is actually a revisionist tide. With the advent of the revisionist tide, what are we to do? We should learn from Comrade Lung Kuo-cheng in fostering the spirit of "steering the ship against the wind" and resolutely repel the Right-deviating wind to reverse previous verdicts. "Although almost everywhere there are opportunists who seek to stem the tide, the tide is always irresistible, and socialism is advancing victoriously everywhere." A brand-new proletarian educational system is bound to thoroughly triumph over the capitalist, revisionist educational system, and this alone is the irresistible tide of the time.

* * *

About "Doors"

by

Ku Shu (顾舒), worker of the Shanghai Machine Tool Plant

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 2, February 14, 1976)

It is said that someone once gave doors the following "definition": "Doors are a kind of device used to partition space into two halves." However, this, like the "function of a pony's tail," has long become a laughing stock.

But in the hands of the bourgeoisie, doors have another kind of important "function." Before the great cultural revolution, in schools and in certain sectors of the superstructure, "doors though there are, they are always closed." People may remember a scene in the film "Breaking With Old Ideas" in which Sun Tzu-ch'ing, Dean of Studies, slams the school's door with a bang in the face of young workers and peasants. The poor and lower-middle peasants say angrily: "He is a door-keeper of the bourgeoisie." Thus doors are used by the bourgeoisie to keep the worker-peasant youths out of schools, showing that old schools were stubborn fortresses of the bourgeoisie.

But schools, as fortresses of the superstructure, are different from fortresses of an army in a war. When you stormed and took them, victory was achieved. After workers, peasants and soldiers enter schools, the bourgeoisie will still stubbornly resist them with the use of doors. Let's take the example of that student of the agricultural college in "Breaking With Old Ideas." Son of the poor and lower-middle peasants, didn't he enter the school door? But the school immediately locked him up, and in less than three years, he was so changed that he was ready to disavow his own parents. Keeping workers, peasants and soldiers outside the school door and keeping them behind the school door -- these two phenomena are of the same essence, that is, to maintain the school as the hereditary domain of the bourgeoisie.

Besides visible doors, there are invisible ones. Visible doors, like that we see in the above-mentioned film, are comparatively easy to open. Invisible doors, since they exist in people's minds, are much more difficult to break open. Sun Tzu-ch'ing is not a wicked person, but his mind is shackled with a lot of bourgeois and revisionist educational ideas. If proletarian ideology does not break in, even if school doors are kept open, roadblocks may still be set up somewhere. The Lü opera "Good Management" has this plot: The father, who is a school teacher, is more or less the same as Sun Tzu-ch'ing in thinking, the only difference being that, faced with the torrent of the educational revolution, he is no longer able to keep the school door shut. "If I can't manage the school, shouldn't I run my home?" So, he confines his daughter at home to study and bolts his door with a lock. This shows that invisible doors can be transformed into visible ones, and that unless the revisionist poison is eliminated from people's minds, not only may school doors that are open be closed again, but doors of homes and courtyards and other doors of various shapes and colors may

be used to prevent the proletariat from carrying out the socialist revolution in the realm of the superstructure.

Schools have doors, but other sectors of the superstructure also have doors. There is, for instance, a view in the science and technological circles which holds that due to the "peculiarity" of science and technology, not only must doors be closed, but walls must be built and sentries posted! In that case, wouldn't they become those fortified villages near Pao-an county that Chairman Mao once mentioned? At present, there are still many fortifications of the bourgeoisie; when one is destroyed, a new one will appear. However, be they doors, walls or sentry posts set up by the bourgeoisie, the proletariat must destroy them one by one, and only thus can it exercise all-round dictatorship on the bourgeoisie.

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Comment on So-called New Argument for the Theory of Productive Forces

by

Yen Feng (延 风)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 2, February 14, 1976)

Before and after the summer of last year, a Right-deviating verdict-reversing wind was whipped up in society. Preaching the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of production forces constituted its important content. "Productive forces first and foremost are science and technology" is the so-called new assertion of a representative character.

Those who advocate this argument attribute it to Marx, saying "Marx in his Critique of Political Economy stated that 'what is meant by social productive forces refers first of all to scientific forces, secondarily to social forces, and lastly to ....'"

Is this really so? After some checking, we found the answer is no.

The passage they cited comes from the second chapter, "The Circulation Process of Capital," in Marx's A Critical Outline of Political Economy (Draft). The original text reads:

"Labor productive forces of society serve as the inherent attribute of capital and are embodied in fixed capital. What is meant by labor productive forces of society first of all refers to the forces of science, secondarily to the social forces gathered together within the production process, and finally to the skills of directly transferring labor to machinery, to the lifeless productive forces." (Volume III, p. 369, 1963 edition of the People's Publishing House)

Can we deduce from this passage of Marx's the argument that "productive forces first and foremost are science and technology?" No, we cannot.

What Marx examined here referred to the social productive forces embodied in fixed capital. The so-called fixed capital consists of such means of production as machinery, equipment and plant premises in the possession of the capitalist, or what Marx called "lifeless productive forces" or "produced productive forces." This is only a part of the productive forces and does not include the laborer, the most important factor of productive forces. How can we say that Marx was analyzing the primary factor in the whole of the social productive forces? The advocates of strange arguments deleted the words "embodied in the fixed capital," thereby giving the false impression that Marx was giving a definition of the whole of the productive forces, as if among the various factors of productive forces, social forces, compared with science and technology, could only occupy the secondary place. Such a trick is just too crude.

What is particularly important is Marx's reference to the "process of capital circulation." To increase capital and expand productivity, the

capitalist naturally cannot count on the exploited workers' enthusiasm for production, but has to rely chiefly on the use of advanced science and technology. How can one fit the capitalist's specific measures for increasing capital into the scheme for developing the overall social productive forces? But the advocates of strange arguments precisely intend to apply capitalist methods to socialist China today.

What is the primary factor of the productive forces. Marx said: "Of all the means of production, the most powerful productive force is the revolutionary class itself." (Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. I, p. 160) Lenin also said: "The first productive force in all mankind is the worker, the laborer." (Complete Works of Lenin, Vol. XXIX, p. 327) These have now become common knowledge of Marxism.

Marxism holds that science is a weapon for people to strive for freedom, and technological progress is a symbol of the development of productive forces. However, science and technology must be applied by man, and without the application of labor nothing can turn science and technology into actual productive forces. Those with strange arguments deliberately tamper with Marxism by arbitrarily attributing to Marx the argument that science and technology are prerequisite productive forces.

According to the Marxist viewpoint, the laborer is the primary and decisive factor of productive forces, and in this sense importance must be attached to raising man's ideological consciousness and to changes that take place in men's interrelations in production. "Revolution means liberation of productive forces." Only by taking full account of the human role can we truly comprehend the commanding role of revolution in production, keep to the Party's basic line, and persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Conversely, if we believe in the strange notion that "productive forces first and foremost are science and technology," we will jump to the conclusion that the development of socialist productive forces primarily depends on science and technology. The argument that science should march ahead of the national economy is designed to encourage people to go all out to develop science and technology, everything else being insignificant. If this is so, does it not mean nullification of class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the Party's basic line?

As a matter of fact, this new argument is no more than a junk picked up from the bourgeois and revisionist warehouse. A number of bourgeois scientists in the West describe science and technology as "the source of all wealth, the fountainhead of happiness for mankind." Soviet revisionist hack writers have also done their best to preach that "the best source of social forces lies in science" and that "deciding the destiny of mankind" are "people who master the most developed technology of our time." They peddle the doctrine that "technology can save the world" and oppose the proletarian revolution on behalf of the monopoly bourgeoisie. In harping on their old tune, those whipping up the Right-deviating wind to reverse verdicts

express the desires and aspirations of the overthrown landlord and bourgeois classes in a vain bid to reverse our country's Marxist-Leninist orientation and socialist road. This deserves our vigilance.

Bourgeois representatives identified with the Right-deviating wind to reverse verdicts are mainly those unrepentant capitalist roaders who were criticized and exposed during the great cultural revolution. They are always dissatisfied with the great cultural revolution, always seeking to settle scores with the great cultural revolution and reverse the verdicts passed by the great cultural revolution. They preach the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces for the purpose of substituting the revisionist line for the Party's basic line so as to achieve the sinister goal of restoring capitalism. Therefore, hitting back politically and ideologically at this Right-deviating wind and consolidating and developing the victorious fruits of the great cultural revolution is a serious fighting task placed before us. This round of struggle is a great hand-to-hand combat between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the continuation and deepening of the great proletarian cultural revolution having a bearing on the future and destiny of our Party and country. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, we must carry this great revolutionary movement through to the end.

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Eclecticism Must Be Criticized

by

Kuan Liang (关 良) and Yao K'un (姚 坤)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 2, February 14, 1976)

From the assorted strange arguments in education circles to the revisionist viewpoints in science and technology circles, it illustrates the existence of a revisionist line that runs counter to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. To alter the Party's basic line, bourgeois representatives stirring up the Right-deviating wind to reverse verdicts do not hesitate to use old tricks to replace materialist dialectics with eclecticism.

Eclecticism is highly deceptive. Lenin in his fight against opportunism once deeply observed: "In converting Marxism into opportunism, passing off eclecticism as dialectics is the easiest way to deceive the masses." ("The State and Revolution") The eclectic approach is characterized by placing the principal and secondary contradictions and the principal and secondary aspects of a contradiction on an equal footing without distinguishing the principal from the secondary, with the result that the essence of things is blurred. For example, the basic contradiction in socialist society is still the contradiction between the relations of production and production forces, the contradiction between the superstructure and the economic base. This finds concentrated expression in the contradiction and struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. This principal contradiction dominates and restrains the other contradictions. Chairman Mao has taught us: "Never forget classes and class struggle." He again taught us recently: "Class struggle is the key link, and everything else hinges on it." This means that in doing all kinds of work during the entire historical period of socialism we must persist in taking class struggle as the key link and under no circumstances should we reverse the relationship between the key link and other things or place the key link and other things on an equal footing. People who whip up the Right-deviating wind create alarming confusion precisely on this question. Prating about the different aspects of contradictions and placing on an equal footing politics and economics, politics and vocational work, and politics and technology, they make no mention of the principal contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. By writing off class struggle, the key link, and negating the Party's basic line, don't they secretly substitute eclecticism for materialist dialectics?

To recognize or not to recognize that the principal contradiction in socialist society is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will inevitably bring about two diametrically opposed political lines. This has been proved by a considerable amount of facts. Not long after the victory of the Soviet October Revolution, a big debate about the relations between politics and economics raged within the Bolshevik Party. Talking rubbish, Trotsky asserted that the party program stipulated that the labor union's new task was to "organize production." Adding fuel to fire, Bukharin contended that looking at problems "politically" and looking at

problems "economically" had equal value. Lenin, hitting the nail on the head, pointed out: By doing so they "used eclecticism to substitute for the dialectical relationship between politics and economics." He argued that "if a class fails to correctly handle problems politically, it cannot maintain its rule and consequently also cannot solve its production tasks." ("More on Labor Unions, the Current Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin") Lenin's remarks completely unmasked people like Trotsky and Bukharin who tried to use the eclectic approach to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat. During the period of socialist revolution in our country, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao did the same thing. In the wake of the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in China in 1956, Liu Shao-ch'i with the help of Ch'en Po-ta dished up the fallacy about "the contradiction between the advanced socialist system and the backward social productive forces" for the purpose of obliterating the principal contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, in a vain attempt to obstruct the deepening of the socialist revolution. When the socialist education movement was gathering momentum in 1964, Liu Shao-ch'i again dished up strange arguments such as "contradictions between four clean-ups and four non-clean-ups" and "the interlocking of contradictions inside and outside the Party," in order to shift the principal target of purging the power-holders in the Party taking the capitalist road. On the eve of the 9th Party Congress, Lin Piao teamed up with Ch'en Po-ta in advocating the development of production as the main task after the close of the 9th Party Congress, so as to cover up their reactionary features of practicing opportunism. Now, what the capitalist roaders have stubbornly insisted on is exactly the same revisionist trash preached by Liu Shao-ch'i for 17 years and which Lin Piao vainly tried to put in his political report to the 9th Congress. By openly negating the taking of class struggle as the key link, they actually sought to make their revisionist line the key link.

In the proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie, eclecticism always reflects and represents the will and interests of the bourgeoisie, a tactic used by revisionism to oppose Marxism. Judging from the history of the international communist movement, revolutionary teachers of the proletariat invariably devoted close attention to criticism of eclecticism when combating opportunism. Proudhon of France once advocated that every economic category was made up of the good and bad aspects, insisting loudly that the proletariat and the bourgeoisie should "raise their understanding and enter into cooperation." Marx once pungently derided "Mr. Proudhon as spinning, struggling and bouncing between the two sides of a category" ("The Poverty of Philosophy"), saying that his political opportunist formula "is composed of 'one aspect' and 'another aspect'." When Kautsky of Germany spoke approvingly of the "unity" between Marxists and revisionists, he was actually defending imperialism and opportunism. Lenin spoke of Kautsky as a past master of intrigue "standing astride two boats," and pointed out that the doctrine of Kautsky, "judging from the philosophical origin, is the secret use of eclecticism and sophistry to replace dialectics." "Judging from political practice, it is total submission to the opportunists and, in the last analysis, to the bourgeoisie." ("The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky") As to the aforementioned Lenin's criticism and exposure of Bukharin the opportunist as "theoretically stooping to the eclectic stand,"

it is familiar to all. Therefore, in order to firmly uphold Marxism and combat opportunism, we must uphold materialist dialectics and oppose eclecticism.

Eclecticism in philosophy will inevitably lead to revisionism in politics. Chairman Mao has consistently taught us that politics is the commander, the soul, that political work is the lifeblood of all economic work, and that in this sense, politics should be given prominence. All of this is sharp criticism of eclecticism. In 1965, on the eve of the great proletarian cultural revolution, criticizing the fallacies spread by political swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i, Chairman Mao pointed out: "Throughout the period of transition there are class contradictions, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and the struggle between the two roads, the socialist and capitalist. If we forget this basic theory and practice of our Party over the past decade and more, we will go astray." At the same time Chairman Mao emphatically cautioned us to guard against people using eclecticism to secretly alter the Marxist-Leninist line. He said: "We ought to be alert against those who do not believe in giving prominence to politics, who are publicly for but secretly against giving prominence to politics, and who disseminate views of eclecticism (that is, opportunism)." Chairman Mao links criticism of eclecticism with combating revisionism, with adherence to the Party's basic theory and basic practice. This penetratingly and clearly shows the natural connection between eclecticism and revisionism. Eclecticism is revisionism. And practice in struggle tells us time and again that the struggle between Marxism and opportunism and that between materialist dialectics and eclecticism is in itself irreconcilable and uncompromising. Can we be reconciled to the revisionist line that negates the great cultural revolution, disavows new socialist things, promotes restoration and regression, and stages counter-attack in revenge as its principal content and characteristics? Never. On the question of the line, either the East wind prevails over the West wind or vice versa; there is absolutely no room for compromise. Criticizing revisionism, including repudiating eclecticism and hitting back at the Right-deviating wind to reverse verdicts, is a round of class struggle for defending the Party's basic line, consolidating and developing the fruits of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this struggle we must conscientiously study the theory of the proletarian dictatorship, seriously study some Marxist philosophy, study some history of Chinese philosophy, draw a line of distinction between Marxism and revisionism and between materialist dialectics and eclecticism, and raise our understanding of socialist society and socialist revolution, thereby doing a still better job of all kinds of work relating to socialist revolution and socialist construction.

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Before and After the Yenan Rectification Campaign

by

Shih Tung-hui (施东晖)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 2, February 14, 1976)

In 1941, many leading cadres in Yenan warmly welcomed their old comrades-in-arms from various anti-Japan base areas! And the entire Party was about to plunge into a great political struggle in which the Marxist-Leninist line was to triumph over the opportunist line -- the Yenan rectification campaign.

In those days, although Yenan was not the front engulfed in gun smoke, it was likewise fraught with struggle. The Japanese and their puppets incessantly dropped their bombs and traitors on Yenan, and Chiang Kai-shek heavily blockaded the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia border region with several hundred thousand troops. To make matters worse, an erroneous line that had been rejected -- Wang Ming's opportunist line -- still interfered with and sabotaged the revolution.

Ever since the Tsun-i meeting of January 1935 established Chairman Mao's leading position in the whole Party, the line of the Party had been consistently correct. The Wayaopao meeting in December 1935 and the 6th Plenary Session of the 6th Party Central Committee in October 1938 one after the other rectified Wang Ming's "Left" closed-doorist line and Right capitulationist line. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the several hundred thousand Party members throughout the country waged a hard and brilliant struggle on all fronts and won great victories. However, Wang Ming still clung to his first "Left" and then Right opportunist line. In March 1940, not long after the publication of Chairman Mao's great work "On New Democracy," Wang Ming for the third time published his representative work of "Left" opportunism -- "Struggle for Greater Bolshevization of the Chinese Communist Party." The erroneous line systematically propounded in this pamphlet caused major disasters to befall the Chinese revolution during the Second Revolutionary Civil War, resulting in a loss of almost a hundred percent of Party strength in the white areas and a loss of 90 percent in the revolutionary base areas. Resorting to eclecticism when he republished this pamphlet, Wang Ming in his "Third-Edition Preface" babbled that "we cannot regard what was right yesterday as all wrong today any more than we can assert that what is wrong today cannot be regarded as what was right yesterday." He not only openly reversed the historical verdict but even frantically suggested that this anti-Marxist-Leninist booklet be included in the teaching material of the Party. Moreover, Wang Ming made speech after speech and wrote article after article, reharping on the hackneyed tune that had long been criticized at the 6th Plenary Session of the 6th Party Central Committee. He continued to advocate capitulationist slogans "unified government of national defense of all China" and "unified anti-Japan allied forces of all China," and vainly attempted to abolish the

revolutionary regime and people's army led by our Party. He continued to call for surrender to Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang and, with tongue in cheek, praised the Kuomintang's decision to publish the bogus "Constitution" and to hold the bogus "National Assembly" in 1940, saying that these two events "symbolize the advent of a new stage of democratic politics in China" and calling on the Kuomintang and the Communist Party to "love, be true to, accommodate and help each other," etc. Thus he vainly attempted to reimpose on the whole Party the erroneous line that had been rejected at the 6th Plenary Session of the 6th Party Central Committee.

The gravity of the problem also lies in the fact that Wang Ming was not the only person to jump out to reverse the verdict. At that time, P'eng Te-huai in North China and Hsiang Ying in Central China, echoing each other, still energetically pushed Wang Ming's line. P'eng, who usurped the post of Secretary of the Party's North China Bureau, still vigorously advocated after the 6th Plenary Session of the 6th Party Central Committee Wang Ming's capitulationist slogans "everything through the united front" and "everything subordinated to the united front." Moreover, in August 1940, behind the back of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, he unilaterally mobilized 115 regiments of the Eighth Route Army to launch the so-called "hundred-regiment campaign" to attack the main communication routes occupied by the enemy, thereby implementing political Right capitulationism with military adventurism. Hsiang Ying, who was Secretary of the Party's Southeast China Bureau, also vigorously pushed Wang Ming's Right opportunist line of trusting and relying on the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries in everything, and refused to carry out the Party Central Committee's directive concerning developing guerrilla warfare independently behind the enemy's lines in Central China. As a result, when the southern Anhwei units of the New Fourth Army moved north in January 1941, they were suddenly set upon by the Kuomintang troops and the headquarters of the New Fourth Army and the more than 9,000 revolutionary fighters were almost all lost. This was yet another bloody lesson from carrying out Wang Ming's line!

In the inner-Party directive "On Policy" which he drafted for the Party Central Committee in December 1940, Chairman Mao clearly pointed out that Wang Ming's mistakes in the ten-year civil war were mistakes in line. However, there were some who took exception to this correct conclusion and believed that in the period from the 4th Plenary Session of the 6th Party Central Committee to the eve of the Tsun-i meeting, the political line of the Party Central Committee, whose power was held by Wang Ming, was "correct." Furthermore, taking the Right stand, they opposed the important policies laid down in "On Policy" for our Party in the period of resistance against Japan. Facts prove that a correct line will often meet with resistance in its execution if it is not subject to a prolonged debate and not grasped by the broad masses and cadres.

Which line was correct, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line or Wang Ming's line? This, to most people, is a question of understanding, an ideological question, and it is necessary to distinguish right from wrong in line and raise people's consciousness of the line struggle by

putting facts on the table, reasoning things out, by the method of study and debate, by recalling the history of the two-line struggle within the Party.

With a view to helping comrades of the whole Party to absorb profoundly the experience and lessons of the two-line struggle within the Party, Chairman Mao wrote a series of brilliant articles after he arrived at northern Shensi. In December 1936, he wrote "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," in which he systematically summed up the experience of China's revolutionary war and criticized the successive opportunist military lines within the Party. In July and August 1937, he wrote "On Practice" and "On Contradiction," and in both works he liquidated, from the plane of world outlook, bourgeois idealism and metaphysics from Ch'en Tu-hsiu to Wang Ming. From the fall of 1939 to early 1940, he successively published such shining works as "Introducing the Communist" and "On New Democracy." In these works he comprehensively formulated the Party's program, line, principles and policies during the new-democratic revolution period in various fields -- political, economic, military, cultural. After that, he wrote such extremely important inner-Party directives as "Current Problems of Tactics in the Anti-Japanese United Front" and "On Policy," summing up the rich experience in the fight against Right and "Left" opportunism. This series of great works by Chairman Mao laid the vital ideological foundation for the whole Party to launch the profound Marxist education movement and to thoroughly liquidate Wang Ming's line and successive opportunist lines.

Beginning from the spring of 1941, Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee carried out a series of important dispositions for setting the Partywide rectification campaign in motion.

In March and April, Chairman Mao wrote "Preface and Postscript to Rural Surveys," in which he criticized the subjectivist style and methods of work and elucidated the great truth that "he who does not carry out investigation has no right to speak." In May, he convened a conference of cadres when he delivered the important report "Reform Our Study," which became a programatic document of the Yenan rectification campaign. While levelling sharp criticism at the subjectivist style of divorcing theory from reality within the Party, Chairman Mao stressed the need to establish the style of integrating Marxism-Leninism with the reality of the Chinese revolution and pointed out a correct orientation for the Partywide rectification movement.

In September 1941, Chairman Mao personally presided over an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau, which was also attended by the 120 senior cadres in Yenan. The meeting reviewed the political lines in the history of the Party, particularly in the period of the agrarian revolution, and discussed such important problems as mobilizing the entire Party to launch the ideological revolution, overcoming subjectivism and practicing integration of theory with practice. This actually amounted to a rectification conference attended by leading cadres of the Central Committee, with the object of drawing a distinction between the two lines among senior cadres of the Party. As a result of

this conference, the Party's principal leading cadres gained an initial, unanimous understanding of the problem of the two lines in the history of the Party, coming to the realization that the "Left" mistakes committed from the 4th Plenary Session of the 6th Party Central Committee in 1931 to the eve of the 1935 Tsun-i meeting were mistakes in political line, and not mistakes in concrete tactics. This enlarged session of the Political Bureau decided on setting up study groups of senior cadres both in the Central Committee and in various base areas for the purpose of studying Marxism-Leninism and discussing problems of the two-line struggle in the history of the Party. Chairman Mao himself became head of the Central Study Group. The session particularly stressed that, due to the influence of Wang Ming's line, subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped Party writing, which existed extensively within the Party at that time, combined to form the ideological basis for the enforcement of the opportunist line, and that only by mobilizing the entire Party to launch a struggle by the proletarian style of thinking against the bourgeois style of thinking, to dig up the ideological roots of the opportunist line and to establish the dialectical-materialist ideological line was it possible to consolidate, from the ideological basis, the ruling position of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in the whole Party. So, the session formally reached a decision to launch a rectification campaign throughout the Party.

February 1, 1942 was a day of tremendous historic significance. In that afternoon, Chairman Mao personally attended the inauguration ceremony of the Central Party School. It was attended by more than 1,100 responsible cadres of the Party from various base areas and other fronts throughout the country and by the newly-elected delegates to the 7th Party Congress. At the meeting, Chairman Mao made an important speech "Rectify the Party's Style of Work," in which he issued to the whole Party the great militant call "Oppose subjectivism in order to rectify the style of learning, oppose sectarianism in order to rectify the style of the Party, and oppose stereotyped Party writing in order to rectify the style of writing." Seven days later, at a cadre conference held by the Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee, Chairman Mao again delivered a speech "Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing". The meeting was attended by the responsible comrades of various departments of the Party Central Committee, senior cadres inside and outside the Party and cadres engaged in cultural and theoretical work, totalling more than 800. The rectification campaign was in full swing throughout the Party.

In order to provide strong leadership for the rectification campaign, the Party Central Committee set up a General Study Committee, with Chairman Mao himself as the chairman and Comrade K'ang Sheng as the vice chairman. The Propaganda Department of the Central Committee on April 3 issued "Decision Concerning the Discussion of the Central Committee's Decisions in Yenan and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Report on the Rectification of the Three Styles" (also known as the "April 3 Decision"). The Decision pointed out: Chairman Mao's important report on the rectification of the three styles and a series of important directives of the Party Central Committee concerning the strengthening of the Party spirit,

investigation and study and other things were sharp weapons for the Party to launch an ideological revolution, adjust the thinking of cadres and Party members and change the style of work. Meanwhile, study documents for the rectification campaign were made public.

Under the concern and leadership of Chairman Mao, a big polemic on the two lines was also set in motion on the literary and art front, accompanied by a major struggle between the proletarian line and the bourgeois line on literature and art. In the spring of 1942, the renegade Ting Ling, the Trotskyite Wang Shih-wei and the others who wormed their way into the Party published, one after the other, anti-Party poisonous weeds. This was a reflection of Wang Ming's line in literary and art circles. At that time, the sinister literary and art line pushed by Wang Ming dominated the cultural departments in Yenan and various base areas as there was frantic opposition to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art. With a view to promoting a deep revolution in literary and art circles, in May 1942 Chairman Mao invited to the small hall of the office building of the Central Committee at Yangchialing some 200 literary and art workers in Yenan for an informal discussion. At this gathering Chairman Mao delivered the famous "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art." The "Talks" scathingly refuted Wang Ming's line ideologically and theoretically; inherited, defended and developed the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and literary and art theory; and most forcefully strengthened the ideological building of the Party. Under the guidance of the "Talks," the literary and art circles in Yenan and in various base areas rapidly unfolded a rectification campaign, exposing and criticizing the various mistaken tendencies of the literary and art circles poisoned by Wang Ming's line. Large groups of literary and art workers one after the other rushed to the front or went deep into the countryside to fight shoulder to shoulder with the workers, peasants and soldiers. A thriving revolutionary scene appeared in the literary and art movement!

Under the close concern and direct leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, the Northwest Bureau of the Party Central Committee specially convened a meeting of senior cadres, which in a period of three months reviewed and discussed, in the spirit of rectification, the two-line struggle within the Party in the Northwest region. Cadres present at the meeting seriously studied Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works, studied the relevant documents, summed up both positive and negative experiences, liquidated the lingering poisonous effect of Wang Ming's opportunist line in the Northwest, and affirmed the great achievements made under the guidance or influence of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Through this meeting, not only was right distinguished from wrong in line, but the overwhelming majority of cadres were united. This provided the model for study of the two-line struggle in the various anti-Japan base areas.

Closely on the heel of this, senior cadres and the delegates of the 7th Party Congress gathering in Yenan and the leading Party organs in various base areas generally discussed the question of the two-line struggle within the Party in the history of the Party, particularly in the period from 1931 to 1934. Senior cadres throughout the Party penetratingly analyzed and criticized the "Left" and Right opportunist lines followed by Ch'en Tu-hsiu,

Chü Ch'iu-pai, Li Li-san, Lo Chang-lung, Wang Ming and Chang Kuo-t'ao. They dissected the essence of the various opportunist lines and their manifestations and danger in the political, military, organizational and ideological fields, and liquidated the ideological and class sources of the erroneous lines. This made the vast numbers of senior cadres generally raise their ability to distinguish genuine Marxism from the false; it made them see ever more clearly that Wang Ming, the self-styled "hundred percent Bolshevik," was in fact a sham Marxist and real opportunist from head to toe. The masses of cadres loved Chairman Mao still more from the bottom of their hearts; supporting Chairman Mao's revolutionary line still more consciously, they increasingly recognized that it was incomparable happiness for our Party to have the great leader Chairman Mao at the helm!

The rectification campaign was carried out, from first to last, under the unified leadership of the Party Central Committee and Party committees at various levels. The moment the campaign started, Party organizations at various levels led the masses of Party members and cadres to seriously read Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works and study the rectification documents provided by the Central Committee, doing so, moreover, in close conjunction with the carrying out of investigations and summing up of experiences. Everyone was encouraged to speak freely and to study in a lively manner.

Study of Marxist-Leninist theories in the rectification campaign was also related to the criticism of opportunist fallacies. With the aim of guiding cadres to understand the Party's correct line and discern the erroneous lines by means of comparison and evaluation, the Party Central Committee specifically compiled two collections of documents before and after the 6th Party Congress, containing the principal documents of the Party and the main speeches of its leaders in the various historical periods, including works representing the correct and the erroneous lines, so that they might be studied and criticized by everyone. This resulted in greatly heightened consciousness of the line struggle on the part of the vast numbers of cadres.

So as to clarify thought and unite comrades, stress was also laid on the conscious application of the weapon of criticism and self-criticism in the course of rectification. In the matter of study for rectification, everyone was able to proceed in an enlightened and conscious way, conquering his own faults by mobilizing his subjective initiative. One was allowed to argue one's views again and again until unanimity of ideology was achieved.

As the rectification campaign was in progress, Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee asked those comrades who made mistakes, including those who made grave mistakes, so long as their contradiction with the Party was not one between the enemy and ourselves, to see not only their shortcomings, mistakes and negative aspects but also their virtues, achievements and positive aspects. Provided that they corrected their mistakes and learned the lessons, they might be allowed to continue to make revolution and to make new contributions to the Party cause. It was because we were able to deal with comrades guilty of mistakes in such a way in the course of the rectification campaign that we avoided one-sidedness, got down to the truth

from facts and drew appropriate conclusions when making criticism or waging struggle. On the other hand, the rectification campaign also called on errant comrades to seriously dissect themselves and to be brave in making serious, not perfunctory, self-criticism, to make a thorough break with their mistakes, renew their spirit and win more fresh merit for the people.

In the latter period of the rectification campaign, when organizational measures were taken against some Party members, cadres and Party organizations, Chairman Mao's directives were followed, and the two different types of contradictions, those between the enemy and ourselves and those among the people, were strictly differentiated and correctly handed. A small handful of renegades, spies, hidden traitors and other bad people who wormed their way into the Party were resolutely purged. Toward all errant comrades within the Party, the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" was adopted, "so that, on the one hand, we may fully understand the historical experience of our Party and avoid repeating the mistakes; and, on the other, we may unite with all comrades and work with them together." In dealing with the historical problems of the line struggle within the Party, emphasis was laid not on the responsibility of some individual comrades, but on an analysis of the circumstances at the time, the nature and social, historical and ideological sources of the mistakes at the time so as to achieve the twofold purpose of clarity of ideology and unity of comrades. In dealing with individuals, a prudent attitude was adopted; while ideological criticism was severe, organizational measures were lenient in a way that was neither ambiguous nor harmful to the comrades. Of course, chieftains of the erroneous lines such as Wang Ming and his like were difficult to transform, however much we wished to see them transform. Even after repeated struggles against him, Wang Ming finally fled to the Soviet Union to become a renegade and traitor, and ended up like a pile of dog's dung to be spurned by mankind.

In April 1944, at a senior cadres conference in Yenan, Chairman Mao delivered a speech "Our Study and the Current Situation" on behalf of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. In it, he incisively summed up the historical experience of the two-line struggle within the Party. After that, the expanded 7th Plenary Session of the 6th Party Central Committee was convened under Chairman Mao's personal leadership and adopted the "Resolution Concerning Certain Historical Problems," in which formal conclusions were drawn about the two-line struggle in the history of the Party, particularly about the mistakes of Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line. This meeting, following the Tsun-i meeting and the 6th Plenary Session of the 6th Party Central Committee, further established Chairman Mao's leading position in the entire Party and enabled the entire Party to be solidly united as never before under Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. This was a great victory of the rectification campaign!

In May, a group of senior cadres in Yenan went back to the front. Willow trees danced in the wind on the mountains and the great earth of northern Shensi was verdant -- this scene of vigor and vitality was symbolic of how they felt at this very juncture. Having cleaned their bodies of the opportunist dust through the Yenan rectification campaign, they headed for various

regions with renewed revolutionary youthfulness and spirit, to organize strategic counter-offensives in the War of Resistance against Japan.

The rectification campaign brought about an unprecedented unity of the whole Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and laid an adequate ideological and organizational groundwork for the Party's 7th National Congress. On April 23, 1945, the 7th National Congress was victoriously convened, and it became a congress of unity, a congress of victory, with its huge historical role and far-reaching influence reflecting the splendid fruit of the rectification campaign.

The Yenan rectification campaign was triumphantly concluded, but its infinitely far-reaching political significance has continued to radiate dazzling light year after year and month after month!

* * *

Magnificent Poems That Combat and Prevent Revisionism

- Young workers on study of Chairman Mao's two poems

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 1, January 14, 1976)

Ku Chien-kuo (Hsienfeng Electrical Motors Works):

Great leader Chairman Mao revisited Chingkangshan in May 1965. "To climb Chingkangshan, our old haunt, past scenes are transformed"-- the transformation of Chingkangshan epitomizes the ever changing and excellent situation in the motherland.

The transformation of past scenes has been brought about by the revolution, which can change everything. By relying on revolution, our forbears removed the three big mountains. By the same token, we have transformed the poor and backward old China into the new China on the road to prosperity. Chingkangshan is changing, China is changing, the world is changing. The new replaces the old, old things are steadily in the decline, new things keep growing up, this being the universal and irresistible law of human society. With this law in their grip, revolutionaries should be the promoters of new things, consciously transforming the world and promoting the transformation of things that will be of benefit to the revolution. Chairman Mao wrote the poem "Chingkangshan Revisited -- To the tune of Shui Tiao Ko T'ou" on the eve of the great proletarian cultural revolution. He had the future of China and the world in mind. To enable China to change its features forever along the revolutionary road, Chairman Mao with foresight pondered over the question of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The great proletarian cultural revolution, a great movement to destroy the old and foster the new, opened the broad road for the flourishing growth of socialist new things and ushered in the moving scene in which "orioles sing and swallows swirl" in the socialist motherland. The mass study of Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's writings, the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young, the revolutionary committee, the revolution in literature and art, the educational revolution, the revolution in health work, the mass movements to learn from Tach'ing in industry and Tachai in agriculture, the educated youths going to mountainous and rural areas, the "May 7" cadre school, and the sturdy growth of the worker-peasant-soldier contingents of theorists.... These new things have flourished throughout the motherland like mountain flowers in full bloom.

Another 25 years hence, our motherland will become a powerful socialist state with modern agriculture, industry, national defense, and modern science and technology. "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." Once the lines is correct, the revolutionary undertaking will thrive; otherwise, an incorrect line will result in the country changing its color and people going revisionist, instead of transforming past scenes. Hence, in the

course of building a powerful socialist state, we must consistently adhere to the Party's basic line and persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Huang Yung-lin (Chiangnan Dockyard):

"True, good and beautiful things exist in comparison with false, evil and ugly things and develop through struggle against them." The renegade and traitor Lin Piao went to Chingkangshan in September 1969. He wrote a sinister poem "Chingkangshan Revisited." As the title suggests, he went there before. What kind of person was he at the time of his first visit? Turning to history will make this clear. In October 1927, Chairman Mao led his Autumn Harvest Uprising force to Chiangkangshan to unfurl the red flag and light the sparks of the revolution. At this juncture Lin Piao had lost faith in the future of the revolution and questioned "how long the red flag will fly." With Lin's Right pessimist views in mind, Chairman Mao wrote a long letter, "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire," for the purpose of sternly criticizing and educating him.

Lin Piao all along had kept this episode in mind. Hiding in a dark corner to dish up "Chingkangshan Revisited," he did everything possible to deceive the world and embellish himself. He had not taken part in the "Sanwan regrouping," yet he covetously disguised himself as a savior who "has invoked vast changes in this world." He deserted the ranks of the Nanchang Uprising, yet he bragged about being a hero of the "Chingkang battle." He was an out-and-out Right pessimist, yet he falsified history without scruples and described himself as being "a firm believer in Marxism-Leninism and never has doubted that a single spark can start a prairie fire." After Lin Piao wrote this verdict-reversing poem, he wrote on scrolls these words four times: "Of all things this is the most important -- restraining oneself and returning to propriety." At the 2nd Plenary Session of the 9th Party Central Committee he couldn't wait to unleash a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat. Careerism is the source of all hypocrisy and lies. For the purpose of usurping Party leadership and state power and carrying out restoration, Lin Piao altered history and reversed verdicts.

Today, ten years have passed since Chairman Mao wrote "Chingkangshan Revisited." Under his leadership, we smashed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and won great victories in the great proletarian cultural revolution. However, the struggle has not stopped. Some people are still dissatisfied with the great cultural revolution and have never given up settling accounts and trying to reverse verdicts. Affirming or negating the great cultural revolution essentially concerns the struggle to continue the revolution as opposed to restoration and regression. We must firmly grasp class struggle as the key link, keep to the Party's basic line, and battle to defend and develop the victorious fruits of the great cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

Hsiao Yü-lin (Tunghai Agricultural Farm):

"Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights." Chairman Mao's brilliant verse points out our infinitely bright future and the tortuous struggle we must go through in our advance. It serves as a clarion call that inspires us to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

How to approach the difficulties encountered on the road of advance puts revolutionaries to an acid test. After Chiang Kai-shek carried out the "April 12" massacre, the whole country was in the grip of white terror. Our great leader Chairman Mao stood firm amid adversities and bravely led the Autumn Harvest Uprising contingent to Chingkangshan. The revolutionary force of only a few thousand men was then pitted against Chiang Kai-shek's troops numbering millions. However, the reactionaries who outwardly appeared powerful failed to vanquish us. Instead, we vanquished them. Chairman Mao has said: "Both the reactionary forces and we ourselves are faced with difficulties. But the reactionary forces cannot overcome their difficulties because they are approaching extinction and have no future. We are able to overcome our difficulties because we are a newly emerging force with a bright future." Although a new force or a new thing appears weak and small at the outset, it cannot be conquered.

The revolutionary road is not straight and the growth of new things invariably is beset with difficulties and twists and turns. We must correctly approach the problems that arise in our advance. "If we dare to scale the heights" means that we should bravely press ahead, continue the revolution and surmount every difficulty. As long as we have "a Marxist-Leninist line and, instead of shunning problems, approach them with resolution, there is no difficulty we cannot overcome." We should therefore maintain the same revolutionary zeal displayed in the years of the revolutionary war, the same militant and death-defying spirit in doing revolutionary work well.

Wang Kuo-i (Talung Machinery Works):

Studying Chairman Mao's poems "Two Birds: A Dialogue -- To the Tune of Nien Nu Chiao" and looking back at the history of the past decade is of great significance for us to recognize the reactionary essence of modern revisionism. "Don't you know a triple pact was signed under the bright autumn moon two years ago?" In 1963 the Soviet revisionist renegade clique signed with US imperialism in Moscow the notorious Treaty on Partial Prohibition of Nuclear Tests, and shamelessly claimed that this was "a great victory for intelligent and patient diplomacy" and "a turning point in the history of mankind." Their aim was in fact to practice nuclear monopoly and nuclear blackmail and to become a nuclear hegemonic lord. In those days the conclusion of the triple pact was acclaimed by the revisionist leadership of Czechoslovakia as "the first swallow heralding the advent of spring." Instead, the pact brought with it not "spring" or "swallow" but the aggressor's iron hoofs and tanks.

Today, the Brezhnev renegade clique has inherited Khrushchev's mantle, asserting that "we are interested in only one thing, that is, detente." Applauding the so-called Helsinki Conference and its declaration, it spread the word that "the gathering clouds of the third world war have vanished" in order to benumb the people of the world. The danger of war has in fact been further increased, not reduced. The contention between the two superpowers -- the USSR and the US -- has intensified, the strategic focal point of their strivings being in Europe. Soviet social-imperialism, which is most keen on playing the "detente" fraud, is the most dangerous source of war today.

The present international situation is excellent. In the global upheaval, the factors of both revolution and war are growing. We must heighten our vigilance and be prepared against wars of aggression.

Han T'ien-yü (Ch'ienshao Agricultural Farm):

"Look you, the world is being turned upside down," "wind and thunder are stirring, flags and banners are flying, wherever men live." These forceful lines by Chairman Mao vividly summarize the special features of our era.

Marxism tells us: "Whichever class holds the center of this or that era determines the main content of the era, its general orientation of development, the main features of its historical background, etc." We are still in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Casting our eyes on the globe, we see that the people of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, having battled hard and with bravery, finally won great victories in the national wars of liberation. From the continent of Asia to southern Africa, from southern Europe to the Middle East, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, turmoil prevails everywhere, things are in ferment. The people's revolution and struggles for national liberation are gaining momentum. In the struggle to combat modern revisionism, Marxist-Leninist political parties and organizations in various countries are developing and gaining in strength. In their struggles against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, the Third World countries and people continue to advance in triumph. Countries want independence, nations want emancipation and the people want revolution -- this historical tide is irresistible. Revolution is the locomotive of history. In order to undermine the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and hinder the advance of history, both new and old revisionists invariably seek to play tricks on issues of the time, in a vain attempt to alter the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. However, the people and their heaven-storming revolutionary struggles determine the destiny of the world. Regardless of whether war leads to revolution or revolution halts war, the people will win the war, win the victory, and win the future.

Yü Hsin-t'ang (Chünchung Printing Plant):

"The roc and the sparrow" is a famous fable in ancient times. In his emotion-packed poem "Two Birds: A Dialogue -- To the Tune of Nien

Nu Chiao," Chairman Mao injects completely new revolutionary content into this ancient fable. The roc symbolizes the revolutionary fighter of the proletariat who, undaunted by the awesome hurricane, hurls himself into the heat of the struggle. The sparrow in the bush vividly depicts the features of those revisionist renegades who are afraid of the revolutionary storm and betray Marxism-Leninism. This poem penetratingly brings out this truth: One's attitude toward revolutionary war is a touchstone for distinguishing true from false Marxism.

Reading this brilliant poem, one recalls to mind the stormy struggles of former years. In the 1960's the national liberation movements spread across Asia, Africa and Latin America like prairie fires. From the embattled Indochina to the shell-ridden African continent, the storm of the people's revolution swept across the whole globe while the fierce flames of armed struggles spread to every part of the world. On two separate occasions, November 1964 and May 1965, Chairman Mao issued statements supporting the revolutionary struggles of the world's people. He said, "The people of the whole world must have the courage and the determination to fight, unafraid of difficulties and pressing forward in succession. Then the whole world will surely belong to the people and all devils will be destroyed." Terrified by the rising storm of the people's revolution, Khrushchev and his ilk exclaimed in alarm that "a tiny spark also can start a world war." Prating about "mirage-like" illusions everywhere, they peddled "prescriptions" for putting out the "sparks." Look, before the revolutionary storm of the national liberation movements, the true features of genuine and sham Marxism are instantly bared.

"The end of battle is not in sight." Revisionism is still the main danger today. Chairman Mao's brilliant poems provide us with another sharp weapon for combating and preventing revisionism. We should continue to carry forward the dauntless and thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of forging ahead, firmly keep to Marxist-Leninist principles and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, "rise with three thousand and carry out a speedy expedition against ninety thousand" and carry the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism to its completion!

Cheng Hsiao ("May 4" Agricultural Farm):

"Where, may I ask? The sparrow replies, 'To a jeweled palace in Elfland's hills.'" What kind of place does the sparrow in the bush want to go? It is "goulash" communism and the "three-nos world" without arms, without troops and without wars eloquently publicized by Khrushchev.

The "jeweled palace in Elfland's hills" is a fitting description of the dream world of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, an illusion of "goulash" communism pictured by Khrushchev and his ilk as "within the reach of all people," with such fancy notions as "the state of the whole people," "the whole people's party," "peaceful co-existence," "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition" thrown in. What they advocate has nothing to do with scientific communism, which seeks to eliminate the system of private ownership, classes and class distinctions

from human society. To realize this great ideal, we must first of all recognize class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat and firmly uphold the continued revolution under this dictatorship. It is precisely on this point that modern revisionists have bared their hideous features of betraying Marxism.

However marvellous the "jeweled palace" sounds, it is a pity that it does not exist in this world, nor will its shadow ever be found. Poet Pai Chü-i of the T'ang Dynasty said in a poem: "It is said that the Elfland's hills are in the seas, the hills are somewhere in the misty void." The "jeweled palace" dished out by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is nothing but a fraud that deceive others as well as oneself. They restore capitalism at home and pursue a policy of aggression and expansion abroad, thus placing themselves in an irreconcilable position with the revolutionary people of the world, including the Soviet people, and in the end will only lift a rock to drop it on their own feet. The perverted acts of Khrushchev quickly consigned him to the garbage heap of history, while the Brezhnev clique also appears outwardly powerful but inwardly weak. It is beset with problems and crises both internally and externally -- in a position which may be likened to "flowers falling off, come what may." In the past 20 years since the Soviet revisionists came to power, the growth rate of the national income has dropped 36 percent. This year, the 9th Five-Year Plan has fallen through. The 30 percent drop in grain output compared with last year's means it is even lower than that of 1913 in the Tsarist era. The "jeweled palace" has become a laughing stock, a cake drawn on the wall.

History proves that "there is no way out in turning back." Judging from disclosures critical of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, we should arouse ourselves and be determined to uphold Marxism and combat revisionism, surmounting every obstacle in our way forward!

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